FELLOWSHIP

June 1946 Vol. XII—No. 6

Andover Newton Theological School
JUN 19 1946
NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

The Political Responsibility of Organized Labor

By WALTER P. REUTHER

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Europe Revisited

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

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Government by Falsehood

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY and ALFRED HASSLER

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Conscription Slows Down

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Sick Ward of Hell

By WALLACE HAMILTON

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

IDEALISM NEEDS STATESMANSHIP for its fulfilment. A dream must have a blueprint if it is to amount to anything. I have always been impressed with the description of "the holy city, the New Jerusalem," in the book of *Revelation*. This city "coming down out of heaven" had not only "the glory of God," but also "walls great and high, twelve gates, . . . and the wall had twelve foundations, . . . and the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof (was) as great as the breadth, twelve thousand furlongs, . . . and the wall thereof (was) a hundred and forty and four cubits. . . . And the building of the wall thereof was jasper, and the city was pure gold, like unto pure glass."

In other words, an architect had been at work as well as a prophet. The New Jerusalem came down "out of heaven," but it was set up on the earth.

I

It is this consideration which persuades me that there is nothing so important at this critical hour in the history of mankind as a statesmanship of pacifism. And I find this statesmanship in the idea of world government, as discussed, for example, in such a book as Emery Reves' *The Anatomy of Peace*. The choice before us is perfectly simple—it is either order or chaos, life or death. Failing world government, there will be no peace save that of a world as dead as the waste spaces of the moon.

Peace in the past has progressed coincidently with the abolition or absorption of independent local sovereignties. There was a time when wars were fought between hostile tribes or clans, as in the Scotch highlands, or among Indians in the North American forests. Then tribes began to be merged, as in the famous case of the Iroquois and the so-called Five Nations, and wars disappeared.

The city-state, as in ancient Greece, marked a distinct period of civilization. Wars in Grecian history were all fought between these city-states—Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Plataea, Thebes—and were ended only when the cities were absorbed into empires, first of Macedon, and then of Rome.

For centuries the wars of Europe were fought between dukes and earls and princes, and kings who were little more than powerful feudal lords. Loyalties were bound to provinces or states, and expressed themselves in fierce contentions for local supremacy. Then Louis XI, Henry IV, and Richelieu merged the mutually hostile states of France into the nation of France. Edward IV and Henry VII ended the Wars of the Roses, and created the English nation. Germany and Italy were much later consolidated into nations—to the bitter cost of Europe. The last great war between states was fought in America, when the northern states in the Civil War ended the claim of the southern states to states' rights, and thus made the United States a nation. Local wars ended with the triumph of nationalism.

Now, nationalism is the curse. It is nations which fight today—in a world which economically and socially has become one. Our wars are in reality civil wars—a "one world" tearing itself to pieces in the raging conflicts of nationalistic sovereignties which have become as anachronistic in our time as the silly sovereignties of tribes, clans, city-states, and princely provinces in former times. Which means that, if we are ever to have peace, political evolution must be allowed to complete itself! Our nations, as independent sovereign units, must go. They must be merged into a world state, as the states of our own country were merged in 1789 into the United States. Over them all, or rather in and through them all, must be established a single sovereignty, democratic in spirit and organization, which shall establish law, and maintain justice and brotherhood, among all the peoples of the earth. "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

II

This does not mean that existing nations shall disappear, any more than the states of the American Union disappeared when the United States was founded. Least of all does it mean that peoples now struggling for independence, as in India, shall be denied recognition and all their rights as nations. The Indians must have their own nation as a condition of their joining their national life with the larger destiny of mankind. There is a process here at work—through nationalism to internationalism. But the important thing is the unification of this planet in political organization as in economic and cultural life. "There are many members, but one body"—that we know! In pain of heart and stress of mind, in sweat and tears and blood and death, have we discovered that "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." Now it remains to us, as to God, to "temper the body together," that it may function as a single organism in which all "the members shall have the same care one for another."

This is the way to peace—and therefore the statesmanship of pacifism. The establishment of world government—*true* world government, not the sham UN variety!—is the next step in the fulfilment of human destiny. And the necessary and last step, for the world can no longer survive war. In earlier centuries, as late even as the nineteenth, we could afford the luxury of war. The Thirty Years War, the Napoleonic Wars, the Civil War, though dreadful, were not fatal. But the World Wars were nearly fatal—the second World War has probably ended Europe! And now we have in hand the weapons to render the next war altogether fatal. So it is world government—or extinction!

III

Thomas H. Huxley, in his essay on *A Liberal Education*, speaks of the world as a "chess-board" and life as the game we play. "The player on the other side is hidden from us," says Huxley. "We know that his play is always fair, just, and patient. But also we know, to our cost, that he never overlooks a mistake, or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance. To the man who plays well, the highest stakes are paid. . . . And one who plays ill is checkmated—without haste, and without remorse."

We have been playing the international game ill, very ill, for a long time. We have one more move. Will it be checkmate, or the high stakes of peace?

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Co-Secretaries

A. J. MUSTE • JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Reentered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

20 Cents a Copy $2.00 a Year

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

June 1946 **Vol. XII—No. 6**

Subheads

Cavemen

The Army-Navy Munitions Board has sent a corps of experts to survey the nation's cave potentialities, with a view to hustling factories, hangars, and munitions dumps underground where they will be "safe" against the next war's atomic bombs. There may also be room for some civilians, who would otherwise have to lead a lonely life of terror out in the open air. Understandably, however, no civilians may be considered until after all military installations have been sheltered, since without them how would it be possible to defend the American way of life?

There is a mastodonic quality about the military mind that makes possible engaging in such explorations without laughing, a feat beyond the abilities of normal people. Nothing can stay these blind couriers in their self-appointed rounds: not the scientists' warnings of atom bombs small enough to be smuggled into caves, not the fact that atomic war might cost the lives of half the people in this country and a third of the world's population, not even the possibility that it could set the planet afire or render it totally uninhabitable. Conscientiously they will peer between the stalactites and the stalagmites, searching for a myth called military security.

* * *

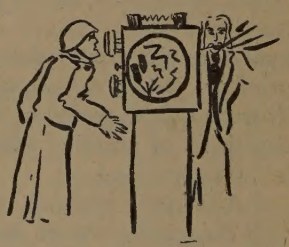
Sometimes it seems that only the scientists really understand that they have created a demon that can destroy them utterly. The scientists are shaken with terror, and many of them have abandoned their test-tubes and bunsen burners to try to persuade their fellow men that their terror is not unfounded. Yet even the scientists bind themselves with the bonds of a world they have made obsolete, and will not speak publicly of their gravest fears because they do not "know" that the fears are justified.

Thus three top atom scientists confirm, but only "off the record," the "not negligible" possibility that an atom bomb, falling on the right collection of elements, might set off a chain reaction that would turn the earth into a "blazing star." And the same men, observing the noticeable increase of radioactivity in the atmosphere from the three bombs so far dropped—so that an explosion in New Mexico fogged photographic film in Rochester, New York—calculate that perhaps 500 bombs would raise this radioactive concentration to the point where all life would cease. (The United States is considered to have more than that number on hand now!)

Radar

Army Air Force surgeons, dealing with odd complaints conveyed to them by mail, announce that radar waves do not cause either baldness or bad dreams. It should be noted, however, that experiments preceding the announcement were conducted on guinea pigs, which are widely supposed not to worry as much as human beings. We know several people right in New York who have been brought to the verge of baldness by pulling out handfuls of hair, and ourselves have had no end of bad dreams, all directly or indirectly related to radar.

This announcement brings to mind the radar "message to the moon" early this year. Military leaders immediately gloated over the possibilities thus disclosed of detecting enemy missiles driving through the stratosphere. We suggest respectfully that the stratosphere is the wrong place to look for enemy missiles. By the time they get that far, detecting them is largely a matter of academic interest that can be enjoyed only in the few remaining moments before the big atomic bang. If radar really wants to help, it must search the mysterious intra-cranial spaces of the statesmen, where the rocket bombs with atomic warheads already are whisking dangerously about.



Mental Hospitals

A recent issue of *Life* includes the picture-story of mental hospitals in the United States, by Albert Q. Maisel, with credit to the conscientious objectors who produced much of the information. Commenting on it, the New York *Post* calls the photos taken at state hospitals "as shocking as the Belsen atrocity pictures." Which, by the much-argued insistence that the German people "must have known" what was going on in Belsen and similar camps, brings a pretty grave indictment against the whole American people!

Mother

Last month Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement of Louisville, Ky., was voted "American Mother of 1946," the twelfth

distinguished woman honored by the Golden Rule Foundation in its annual reward. Miss Mary E. Hughes, also of Louisville, cast a vote for Mrs. Clement. She said of her action, "I never dreamed I would ever in my life vote for a Negro. . . . I'm a rebel of rebels—or I thought I was until this afternoon."

Whether or not Miss Hughes was "a rebel of rebels" very likely has not bothered Mrs. Clement much. She has been too busy raising a family of seven children, putting them through college, and doing her own share as "the minister's wife" in making Kentucky a happier place in which to live. Her children include three college professors, one college president, a Red Cross field director, a church executive, and the wife of a prominent educator.

Alcatraz

During last month's Alcatraz uprising, the New York *Herald Tribune* speculated editorially on the questions raised by the fact that "these rebels preferred a hundred-to-one chance against death to the punishment they were undergoing," and suggested that the riot was "a notice dipped in blood" that the solution of our penological problem, which we thought we almost had in hand, "is a long way off."

Well, the rebellion was such a "notice dipped in blood," though it is discouraging and surprising to find that the usually well-informed *Herald Tribune* thought we were anywhere near a solution of the "penological problem." The prison sentence measured in decades or in the harsh irony of the word "life" is the most sadistically cruel torture invented by society, a fact that may well be pondered by the sensitive souls who have worked so hard to abolish "capital" punishment. So long as society insists on punishing what it calls criminals, a quick death is infinitely more merciful than the living death of long decades in the hell of prison, a point grimly punctuated by the Alcatraz uprising.

Execution is an abrupt end. It terminates the opportunities to gratify natural desires, but it terminates at the same time the desires themselves. The first is blind and primitive justice; the second is blind and primitive mercy. There is a short period of agonizing terror, a much shorter experience of grinding pain, and that is all, so far as mortality is concerned.

But the long sentence in the total frustration of prison ends the gratification of desires while it permits the desires to continue unchecked. This is sadism, cruel and unmitigated. It produces two types of inmate: the broken, empty shell, sub-human, that moves listlessly through prison corridors to the end of its days, and the frantic, desperate rebel, in whom hatred grows until there is room for nothing else, and who will strike for freedom when the chance is only one in a million.

Each execution is a fresh reminder to the sensitive that they are murderers too, and that cannot be borne. So the sensitive beat their fists against the death penalty, and when they win can rest their delicate spirits on their victory, out of earshot of the moans and curses of those to whom they have given the monstrous horror they call life.

* * *

Some of us wondered if, when the names of the revolting convicts were made public, Tom Livers would be among them. Tom was the ringleader of a group of three who attempted escape from Lewisburg Penitentiary on Armistice Day, 1944. They were caught, and each was tried for attempted escape and sentenced to an additional twenty-one years, and sent to Alcatraz. Tom was nineteen at the time, and the twenty-one years added to his previous sentence of seventy-seven, placed his parole eligibility date in the year 2007! Given a boy of nineteen whose earliest possible release date would come when he was eighty-two, can a sane person expect anything but violent rebellion and slaughter if the chance presents itself?

"The Army-Is-Good-for-Young-Men" Dept. —Sex Education and Ceiling Price Division

The venereal disease rate among American soldiers in Europe has risen from 52 cases per thousand on V-E Day to 211 per thousand, according to Maj. Claude M. Eberhart, V-D control officer of the European theatre. In some areas the rate is as high as 427 cases per thousand. "There is no guarantee that the rate won't continue to rocket," said Major Eberhart. "Food shortages, as they grow worse, will increase the promiscuity of girls, who will become more willing to sell themselves for chocolate bars and the necessities of life which soldiers can provide."

And the Tientsin (China) Union of Prostitutes and Professional Entertainers is reported to have protested to the U. S. provost marshal's headquarters that the ceiling price for U. S. enlisted men (50 cents American) is "too low to meet the livelihood of the prostitutes." The petition asserts that "the usual payment" was one dollar until the provost marshal notified the management of the "hotels" that prices for enlisted men henceforth would be fifty cents per visit. The petition claims that 20 per cent of the charge must be deducted by the managements for the "necessary soliciting and interpreting fees."

Thesis

Any student of government looking for a thesis subject is respectfully referred to recent developments in Washington for material on a paper to be called "The Insidiousness of Encroaching Totalitarianism." Part of the preparation would be to interview the 306 members of the House of Representatives who approved, without debate, a bill empowering the President to draft strikers. It's so *easy* to settle strikes that way!

Ham

In the world of show business, "ham" is used to describe the inexpert and the obvious—the act that in its desperation for unearned applause concludes by running up the flag or playing the national anthem. The dramatic gesture with which the President interrupted his labor-legislation speech before Congress to announce settlement of the railroad strike was described by Senator Wayne Morse as "ham acting," and there is a resemblance. The strike had been settled before the President appeared before Congress, which fact was announced over the radio. The handing of the note to Mr. Truman twenty minutes later, and his climactic announcement, resembled the arrival of the U. S. Marines in an old-time horse-opera just after the Indians and the settlers had sat down for a good meal together!

The American Chairman of the International F.O.R. Tells What He Saw on a Three Months Tour of Europe After the World's Worst War

Europe Revisited

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

IN THE THREE MONTHS from January 18 to April 16 of this year I was able to visit twelve countries in Western Europe: England, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, and Eire. Traveling by air, rail, and automobile I averaged nearly a week in each country and addressed a total of fifty-seven meetings. I talked with FOR people everywhere, to less pacifist audiences, and to a limited number of relief workers, churchmen, and ambassadors. At Stockholm I participated in a six-day conference of the International FOR with fifty-two representatives from thirteen nations present.

Such a tour is necessarily too restricted to yield more than rapid first-hand impressions of the countries visited. The present state of Europe is so confused and changing that perhaps one should not attempt to write about it at all, but having in mind the limitations of observation mentioned above I return to the United States with certain general impressions that I venture to share with the readers of *Fellowship*.

Destruction Not Total

The destruction of the war has been much worse than in any previous war, but it is not total.

The worst that I saw was in the German cities of Frankfort, Kassel, Hannover, Cologne, and the Ruhr. I did not get to Berlin. A British article on "War Damage in Western Europe" published in the April issue of *The World Today*, organ of the authoritative *Chatham House* group states that "Germany has had 75 per cent of her cities and more than 30 per cent of her industries and factories destroyed." It lists twenty-one principal cities "with more than 50 per cent of their buildings destroyed."

The article points out that *"industrial damage in Germany is not comparable to civic damage"* and that "it is possible that from 80 to 90 per cent of German coal and basic iron and steel production is essentially undamaged." The writer hastens to add that "this does not imply that production can, for many years, reach 80 per cent of the 1938 level, for all kinds of factors militate against it." But what an informing comment and admission this is for those of us who read Vera Brittain's "Massacre by Bombing"! It is now seen that civilians and their buildings rather than basic industries got the brunt of the Allied bombing, a fact that is not unnoticed by Germans today.

In Kassel I saw a wooden cross stuck into the rubble that lined both sides of a main street. At Christmas time thousands of wreaths laid on these heaps of debris were a reminder of the bodies that have not yet been dug out. I was told that the number of them would reach 25,000. The worst of the destruction in Kassel happened in a 90-minute air raid and conflagration on October 22, 1943, yet today the city is still a honeycomb of ruin, though street cars are running again and light, water, and certain other essential services have been partially restored.

The sorry state of railroad travel was revealed by an overnight journey from Kassel to Hannover. At the Hauptbanhof, in Kassel, with two hours to wait until train departure a little after midnight, what remained of the station was so crowded that I could find no place to sit except on the end of my suitcase. When the train did arrive it was so full that I almost despaired of being able to get on it at all until a platform guard, tipped with a cigarette, forced open a door by throwing his weight against the resistance of the passengers standing in the aisle like sardines in a tin. I squeezed through the door but could get no farther than the toilet, where two other men and a woman and I stood while the train rolled on. After a couple of hours, when passengers were made to get out and have their baggage examined, I was able to work into a corner of the aisle and up-end my suitcase and sit on it for the rest of the journey.

In Hannover the next morning I left the station to search for a hotel or restaurant in which to rest, but there were none visible in this city of desolation and ruin. Neither did the station have a waiting-room with place for me to sit down. Finally I discovered a post office and there found an unoccupied seat.

A great deal more—and worse—could be said about the destruction of Germany's transportation, her agriculture, and principal cities. The country has been set back 100 years in its standard of living. Yet it would be a colossal mistake to suppose that Germany is finished and gone. I motored several hundred miles on good roads through countryside where villages, people, and land looked just as they did before the war. I visited the university town of Marburg which, except for the railroad station and a few buildings on the outskirts, is undamaged and looked much as I remembered it from student days in 1913. No visitor in Germany can dodge the fact that Germany and the Germans still exist. More remains than what the war destroyed.

The Rest of Europe

The same thing is true of the rest of Europe, in spite of the war damage sustained by most countries. In London there is no destruction of buildings comparable to the German cities, but the shine has been taken off things, and shops and hotels offer very poor picking for tourists. Everywhere it was cold, the food was monotonous, and there was little gaiety by day or night on London streets. It was a great boost to my creaturely comfort and a liberation to my

spirit to get into Switzerland, and I noted the same effect on British FOR delegates when they came to Stockholm and reveled in the abundance of light, life, and prewar civilization that they had almost forgotten.

Prague was as drab as London and had much less food, but it had been almost unbombed. One centuries-old building and a shocking number of persons had been destroyed by an American daylight raid in which our "precision" bombers mistook Prague for Dresden. The city and the country had been mercilessly looted of property and livestock, first by the Germans and then by the Russians. Other cities such as Brno suffered severe war damage and Lidice was not the only village obliterated. Many people were living on UNRRA supplies but as the American Ambassador in Prague said to me, "The future of this country is all right."

Most of Paris escaped bombing. The central city looks much as it did before the war. Brussels, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and Oslo showed hardly any marks of bombing, nor did I see starvation in their streets. There is no doubt in my mind that Western Europe could effect an amazing recovery in just a few years if future peace could be guaranteed, trade barriers put down, and a moral tide of forgiveness and reconciliation sweep through the minds of men. Unfortunately, however, it is just these conditions that do not seem likely to be fulfilled.

Economic and Spiritual Results

Although military battles and bombardments have ceased, the economic and spiritual consequences of the war are continuing in Europe with terrific, perhaps unabated, force.

The greatest world famine in history stares people in the face, and it is predominantly a famine provoked by the war. In Germany the countryside was covered with snow when I saw it, but its general appearance and that of the villages was good. That look was deceptive. The British article on war damage from which I have already quoted, and which can be supported by American and other evidence, states:

> The outlook for German agriculture in the next two years is black indeed. Although war damage is virtually nonexistent in the villages and farms outside the Rhineland, the soil of Germany faces utter exhaustion. . . . German livestock are depleted and cannot yield animal manure. The railways and canals have broken down, and agricultural fertilizer from the Rhineland and Silesia can no longer reach the vast sandy areas of the Northern plain, where the soil is naturally poor and requires fertilizer on a scale not attempted elsewhere in the world. . . . The breakdown of commercial organization and the collapse of water and rail transport spells ruin for the scientific agricultural economy of Germany.
>
> Most important of all is the loss of a very high percentage of Germany's skilled male labor, a loss common to all German production. Germany's war casualties are estimated at 7½ million dead or wrecked. If German agriculture is to support the German population in the absence of a considerable part of German industry, a whole class of new farm laborers and servants, consisting of mothers and children with no fathers, working for little more than their miserable keep, seems inevitable in the immediate future of Germany. . . .
>
> The bombing of cities and destruction of skilled manpower has not created so much misery and dislocation as the collapse of the vital rail and water routes. . . . It is not too much to state that the entire economy of the North European plain has been paralyzed and disrupted by the destruction of its bridges. . . . It is over a year since the Rhine came into Allied hands, yet only a trickle of single barges has reached Holland with coal from the Ruhr. Two million tons of Dutch barges and more than two million of German are idle on the Rhine system alone. River traffic on the Elbe reaches as far as the Russian frontier at Lauenburg—it is in any case blocked by the great Elbe bridges which lie as a mass of wreckage in the river at Magdeburg. In the Ruhr only two bridges are intact out of two hundred, involving an endless detour for road transport across the river and completely blocking most river movement of coal or supplies and fertilizers. The restoration of the inland waterways, adequately bridged for road and rail, quite apart from political factors, will in the present state of Germany take probably five years to complete, and these five years will be a period of great hardship.

Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, Secretary of the German FOR, who lives in a country district some twenty-five miles south of Hannover and whose brother is president of the district farmers' union, impressed on me the woe that must ensue from the impoverishment of German soil and breakdown of agriculture. He expected that food shortage would be worse in 1947 than it has been this year.

Possibly more alarming is the bitterness and hatred which he sees not only dividing Germany from the outside world but cutting her into hostile factions within. After thirteen years of tyranny by the Nazis, culminating in the devastation and disruption of defeat in war, great numbers of people have become abnormal. They are ready to spring at each other's throats—Nazis, non-Nazis, Communists, Jews, Christians, displaced Poles, refugees forced in from Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, and so on. Although Mensching, the pacifist, had seen the evils of foreign occupation in India and Africa and the looting, drunkenness, and crimes of sex indulged in by American soldiers when they burst into Germany after the Battle of the Bulge, he felt that at present the occupying armies of Germany's conquerors would have to stay. Under present conditions houses would burn and murders be committed all over the land the very day or night that the occupying forces were withdrawn. Mensching asserted this repeatedly, an opinion which I found was shared by Bishop Bergrav with whom I talked in Norway.

Nationalism Intensified

Intensified nationalism is another spiritual consequence of the war that infects every country in Europe. From Russia to the North Sea it threatens to crowd out the Christian gospel. In the center of Amsterdam I visited a Protestant church which had been wholly given over to the nationalist spirit. It was being used to stage an exposition of the Dutch resistance movement. No religious services could be held there for the pews had been removed and the walls of the church and the whole inside displayed huge paintings and exhibits devoted to depicting the crimes of the Germans in their occupation of Holland. The burning of Rotterdam, the cruelties to the Jews, the deportations of forced labor all were played up, large scale. The second part of the exhibit glorified the resistance of the Dutch. Even the machines by which trains were derailed and railroads sabotaged were put in places of honor. Every Christian symbol had been crowded out except the vast empty pulpit that had proved too cumbersome to move. I

was reminded forcibly of the anti-religious museums that I had seen in some of Russia's churches after the Communist revolution. This impression was not lessened when on leaving the church I noticed a group of Dutch school children being shepherded in to view the display. Nationalism had taken total possession.

The question which day and night grips my mind and emotions and sums up better than all else the challenge which I bring back to America, is this: *Has deliverance from Hitler only postponed the execution of Europe?*

It was a Dutch schoolmaster who in private conversation first expressed to me that fear. He had seen the life blood being squeezed out of his country by the Nazi executions, had faced the Gestapo on trial for his life, and known what it was to ride 40 miles in semi-starved condition on a bicycle without tires in order to get a sack of potatoes or tulip bulbs for his family. Like every other freedom-loving person in Europe, he had rejoiced with great joy when American planes dropped food in Holland, Germany surrendered, and peace incredibly arrived. It was a deliverance from death, a reprieve which came just in the nick of time. To most people, at first, it appeared to justify the war which had overthrown German tyranny.

But deeper analysis of the European and world situation raised doubts. With the realization that Hitler, like the Kaiser before him, was a symptom rather than the source of a world-wide international malady, there came the question: "Has the world actually learned anything about the real cause and cure of war?" The atomic bomb poses that question in apocalyptic terms. If nationalism, balance-of-power alliances, and ever more deadly armaments are still to be the recipe for security, then the final execution of Europe is due in another ten or twenty years. For in following out such a pattern of national defense it seems almost certain that the United States and Russia will one day collide in atomic warfare while Europe is torn to pieces between them.

With variations, that is the pervasive and recurrent fear that haunts people all over Europe and paralyzes hope and activity for peace, indeed even for any purposeful social living.

Europe Cannot Save Herself

Practically speaking, Europe cannot save herself. There will be a next war unless the United States very soon intervenes with an effective initiative for peace. We have joined the United Nations, but I found few pacifists on the Continent who had real hope that that organization—unless radically changed—would have any better chance of preventing world war than did the ill-fated League of Nations. As a forum for talking things out it may be a substitute for fighting them out in the present period of war weariness, and it may postpone for a little the clash between the Big Powers while they are playing for position in the line-up for the dread but inexorable Atomic Battle. It has value in facilitating functional cooperation for economic and social welfare among the nations, but unless they disarm and yield the sovereign right to make war, UN cannot prevent war.

Bishop Bergrav in Oslo said to me, "Do you fear the aggression of Russia?" I replied: "Not much more than I fear the aggression of any of the big nation-states, including the United States. Any one of them would commit aggression if it believed that its vital national interest was menaced." He said, "You are right. Now is the United States going to insist on keeping an air base in Iceland? If you do, Russia will demand an air base in Norway." There is the picture in simplified form of the clash of national interest which could just as well occur in Germany, China, the Pacific, or almost anywhere on our rapidly shrinking globe.

There were ten or fifteen critical years after World War I when World War II could possibly have been prevented. The guilt for this failure cannot be attributed solely to Germany or to the Treaty of Versailles, the Covenant of the League, the policies pursued by the governments of France, England and the United States or of the voluntary peace organizations in these countries. However one may apportion blame, it is indisputable that none of us succeeded in warding off the war which came in 1939. Can we do any better in the decade before us?

It is my conviction that in so short a period revolutionary pacifist non-cooperation with war cannot secure enough convinced adherents to stop the next war by any program of conscientious objection or a general strike. Neither do I believe that the United Nations as at present constituted can withstand the drive of nationalism leading to war because the foundations of UN are laid in the shifting sands of national sovereignty and national armaments. *Ad hoc* campaigns against famine, conscription, imperialism, armaments, or in defense of the rights of conscience are necessary and valuable, but the conquest of war calls for more than *ad hoc* campaigning.

World Government Needed

In the present situation, and on the political front, I believe that the time has come to attempt to mobilize an all-out effort of the peace-minded people in America for world government, including the elimination of atomic missiles and national armaments of war. Back in 1941 soon after the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, which never stepped out of the framework of nationalism, the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States issued what seemed to us a better peace program in a statement "Eight Ways to Build Peace." Our number one proposal called upon the United States to "take its full share of responsibility, with other nations, for the building of federal world government along some such lines as those of our American union."

Today world government as the alternative to nationalist warfare is being pressed by many influential citizens who are not pacifists, and has been catapulted into the arena of practical politics by the atom bomb. In every city where I spoke in Europe, and in conversations with individuals, I advocated world government. Some pacifists had hesitations of principle but in general the response was that "the world is not ready because nationalism is too strong." That is a counsel of despair, but Europe is tired and losing hope. I believe that the psychological climate would alter if the United States with its prestige and immense vigor and resources would commit itself boldly to the world government proposition and tell the world that it would make common cause in this program with every nation that is willing to commit itself to go that way.

(This is the first of two articles by Mr. Sayre on "Europe After the War." The second will appear next month.)

The Political Responsibility of Organized Labor

By WALTER P. REUTHER
International President, United Automobile Workers, CIO

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to overestimate the magnitude of organized labor's political responsibilities in this era of transition for nations and institutions. The military defeat of fascist arms did not destroy fascism. If the democratic nations fail to put their own houses in order by eliminating the threat of perpetual crisis inherent in the uncontrolled swings of the business cycle, democracy will have met the external enemy only to succumb to the sickness within its own body.

This problem of winning peace and creating a stable world society is global in scope. But basic decisions made in the United States during the next decade will exert the most potent single influence over the trend of world history in the fateful period immediately ahead. If, during the next few years, we can lay the foundations of a society of abundance and security for our people, we shall demonstrate to all peoples that it is possible to have economic democracy without sacrificing political democracy. If we allow ourselves to be pushed into another cycle of boom and depression, the desperate peoples of the earth will turn from America as from a noble experiment that failed, and they will make the final surrender to totalitarianism.

The tragedy of our time is as much due to the failure of the progressives as it is due to the strength and tenacity of reaction. We must, therefore, deploy our forces for the developing struggle in the knowledge that the grand strategy of labor, working farmers, small business men, white-collar and professional people can be of decisive consequence. And of this coalition, all of whose elements have a common stake in abundance and peace, labor, as the most highly organized, incurs the greatest responsibility.

All-Out Assault Needed

That responsibility may be summed up as the necessity of abandoning narrow pressure-group habits and attitudes for an all-out economic and political assault on the root causes of economic instability. Since failure to control the drastic fluctuations of the business cycle and to achieve full production and full employment in an environment of freedom constitutes a crisis of society as a whole and not merely of the labor movement, the solution must be sought in terms of the community. Labor can make progress only with the community, not at the expense of the community. Labor, in formulating its program, must not be circumscribed by the boundaries of factory or industry, or by a narrow definition of its interests as one pressure group among many. Labor's program must be a community program. Such a program will recognize the elementary fact that political action and economic action are inseparable in our complex economy.

In the decade of the growth of industrial unionism which saw the rise of the CIO and the enactment of progressive legislation under the New Deal, millions of workers threw off the blinders of "pure and simple" trade-unionism inherited from Samuel Gompers and still popular doctrine in the high councils of the American Federa- of Labor. They learned that they had responsibilities as citizens which transcended the narrow bounds of "wages, hours and working conditions" traditionally regarded as organized labor's province. They witnessed the growing power of government as private industry demonstrated its inability to cope with economic paralysis. They saw the same industrialists who were resisting collective bargaining in Detroit form the Liberty League in order to resist positive government in Washington. And the lesson was driven home: By improving its "bargaining" position, labor cannot establish an island of economic security in an insecure society; economic gains can be won and lost in the political arena; labor can attain security only by fighting for a secure society.

The Role of PAC

The Political Action Committee of the CIO was the natural outgrowth of labor's developing awareness of its true role in a period of chronic instability. The CIO-PAC came into being after the momentum of the New Deal had spent itself in preparations for war, when it had become apparent that the uncompleted task of building a full production—full employment economy would be side-tracked by a postwar normalcy stampede. CIO-PAC fought a holding action against the effective Congressional majority of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans, resisting their efforts to liquidate the remnants of the New Deal and to obstruct legislation designed to ease the transition from war to a healthy peacetime economy. But, lacking vigorous administration leadership, progressives in and out of Congress have not stemmed the reactionary tide.

The full employment bill was emasculated; the federal unemployment compensation bill was lost; legislation creating a permanent fair employment practices committee has been smothered; minimum wage legislation has not come to a vote. A similar fate has befallen legislation to provide for river valley development. Tax legislation has dispensed relief to the greedy, not the needy. This trend has culminated in the assault on OPA and the whole structure of price control between us and disastrous inflation.

Labor, anticipating the trend, launched a post-VJ Day offensive in the economic field calculated to offset the decline in take-home pay and purchasing power suffered with the war's end. This represented the initial step in a long-term process of effecting a more equitable distribution of the national income which would release to the lower-income groups purchasing power lying dormant in corporate coffers and in the vaults of private investors. If the re-distribution was to be real and not illusory, labor knew that prices would have to be held while wage rates rose. Notably in the UAW-General Motors dispute, the crucial importance of raising wages without increasing prices was underscored as the means toward balancing our national capacity to consume and our capacity to produce. This common sense proposition commended itself to public opinion; labor succeeded in establishing a new high-wage pattern in the mass-production industries.

Checked in the economic sphere, industry marshaled its forces for the battle of Washington, forced major and un-

warranted price concessions from OPA, and sharpened its knives for the final kill.

In the light of these tendencies—the dissipation of the New Deal dynamic, the ascendency of reaction in the Democratic and Republican parties, and the political whittling down of labor's economic gains—progressives must re-evaluate their political strategy.

With the passing of Franklin Roosevelt went the heart of the New Deal and the cohesive power that for more than a decade had held precariously together the disparate elements of a victorious coalition. In retrospect, it is clear that the reforms of the Roosevelt era, hastily improvised in crisis, never amounted to a program for removing the root causes of the crisis. The New Deal was a finger in the dike, a bucket brigade in a desperate hour. It early lost the initiative to an obstructionist Congress, its energies were diverted to war, its supporters had to relinquish the attack and dig in, and now its leader is gone.

Need for A Third Party

Labor and its progressive allies are on their own, waging a defensive war against the well-disciplined and well-heeled legions of reaction and normalcy, whose servants are in control of the Congress. We must prepare now to regain the initiative. There is no time between summer and the November elections to undertake major shifts in strategy; CIO-PAC and progressive citizens in every Congressional district are already in the thick of primary battles. Any third-party action at this time would be ill-considered and premature. It is impossible to short-circuit the tortuous and painful process by which people prepare themselves for fundamental realignments and new political movements. But while the formation of a third party at this time would be a futile and dangerous gesture, now is the time to plan seriously the long-term process by which a progressive third party will be ready when the next crisis, already predictable, is upon us, making the new party and the new program both possible and imperative.

Labor knows it is in politics to stay, but labor has not decided where it is going politically. The time has come when labor must seriously confront the fact that the interim policy of the CIO Political Action Committee, necessary and vital as it has been in the past and will be in this election year, does not constitute a program or an approach capable of rallying sufficient strength to stave off the next depression, counteract reactionary pressures, and achieve full production and full employment.

The way of individual endorsement and piecemeal legislation will not lead us out of the wasteland of boom and bust, of impending depression and perpetual crisis. There is a general appreciation of this truth among progressives, who commonly assume that eventually a third party of labor, small farmers, small business men and professional people will be required. What is not understood so widely is that such a fundamental realignment is a gradual process, in which old conceptions and interests die hard, in which the ferment of new ideas and attitudes proceeds slowly, in which leadership and program cannot be dogmatically imposed but must rise to the surface, the natural product of events. That process has begun; we must consciously accelerate it rather than look the other way in embarrassment or indifference or in the complacent belief that in CIO-PAC we have found the perfect vehicle for riding the whirlwind that will soon engulf us if reaction and inflation break through the frail bulwark of OPA.

Walter P. Reuther

Thirty-eight-year-old Walter Philip Reuther is a third-generation labor leader who rose to his present position the hard way. He has been beaten up by industry's strike-breaking "goons"; he ran the tumultuous sit-down strikes in 1937; and he led the recent General Motors strike, longest auto workers stoppage in history. He is married, and lives with his wife and daughter (aged 3½) in a modest two-story white house in Detroit. He neither smokes nor drinks, and is the worst news in years for Communist infiltrators into the labor movement.

His election to the presidency of the world's largest union marked a major turning-point in the development of organized labor in America: a move away from the economic isolationism that has characterized labor's activities into a recognition, in Reuther's own words, that "labor cannot establish an island of economic security in our insecure society."

The coming third party of the people will not be a labor party. CIO-PAC has been characterized as "labor's political arm." A third party which is merely an elaboration of PAC, merely the political adjunct of organized labor, dominated by labor and serving its special interests, will not command the loyalties of enough individuals and groups beyond the ranks of labor to become a major party. That is why a party hastily launched by edict from above to satisfy the rigid prescription of some dogmatic sect is doomed to failure; lacking nourishment in the convictions and aspirations of the common people, such a party would quickly die.

A party serving the true interests of the common people cannot be declared into existence; it must grow. The time must be ripe, the people must be ready. Labor's political responsibility is neither to close its eyes to the necessity of new alignments nor to surrender to doctrinaire moves to launch a new party prematurely on a too-narrow base. It is rather to recognize the transitional, stop-gap nature of its present political activity, to reach out into the community for natural alliances with farm and progressive middle-class groups, and to lay the organizational and programmatic groundwork for a people's party.

In the process of forming these alliances, stubborn mutual suspicions must be broken down. The American people have lived so long in an economy of scarcity that they cannot be expected to move easily into the mental and physical climate of abundance now a technical possibility. They are still, for the most part, chained to the outmoded slogans and assumptions of the past. They accept uncritically the proposition that group can prosper only at the expense of group; they believe that labor can make progress only to the detriment of farmers and small business men. This conviction flows logically from practical experience within a society in which there has traditionally not been enough of the material necessities of life to go around.

They must be shown that the progress of technology has placed abundance and material security for all within our grasp; that we must summon the courage and imagination to fashion economic and political tools for bending technology to the service of the common man; that this can be

done without sacrificing political freedom and without elevating organized labor or any other group to dominance over the community.

Pervasive and prolonged insecurity among the masses of our people, bitter memories of depression, the shock and tragedy of two world wars in a generation, the enslavement of the human will and the subordination of the human personality to the inhuman processes and institutions of the market economy—all these factors have conspired to render the victims skeptical of programs and parties appealing to the hopeful and creative instincts of men. But the same factors make a constructive program imperative. An educational burden of massive proportions must be shouldered if complete economic and institutional breakdown is to be averted. The short-term interests of labor and farmers, of labor and small business men, of labor and white-collar workers, of labor and professional workers, may be opposed; their long-term interests are one. Before a new people's party can rise to challenge the forces of monopoly and scarcity, to wrest the initiative from the discredited old parties, and to lay the economic and political foundations of enduring peace, labor, farmers and progressive elements of the middle class must abandon group warfare, deliver themselves from the treadmill of seeking special privilege at each other's expense, and forge a democratic program for security, freedom and abundance.

Such a thoroughgoing democratic realignment of the major functional groups in this country is not the work of a day. There is no certainty that an evolution so sweeping and fundamental can overcome the inertia and vested interests in our national political life in time to rescue us from another turn of the wheel that twirls through false prosperity and comes full circle in crash. That is why we cannot dismiss third-party talk and third-party planning as visionary and irrelevant to the current play of political forces. That is why there must be, now, frank and open and thoroughgoing debate on the subject of new party alignments among liberals and non-totalitarian progressives, without any slackening in the current effort to elect sound progressive candidates of both major parties to our national, state and local governments.

The peoples of the earth, most of them unorganized and helpless alone, cry out for peace. There cannot be peace unless we press unrelentingly for a genuine world community, across the barriers of insane nationalisms. There cannot be a world community, no matter how clever our global political arrangements, without a sound economic base. The greatest pillar of that world community struggling to be born will be an economy of freedom, security and abundance in the United States. The achievement of that economy, in democratic unity with progressives in all groups, is the political responsibility of the labor movement.

Sick Ward of Hell

By WALLACE HAMILTON

CPS camps were perhaps never so expressive of themselves as in the dead of night, with everyone sleeping except the night watchman. In the dorms, the restless flicker of fire seen through the cracks in the stove, the counterpoint of breathing, the waiting, the monotony, the expectancy, the sense of time being meaningless, and yet the most important thing in the world. Then occasionally in the hush, a sudden voice, rising to a confused climax of urgency, trailing off in a grumbling mutter.

Legend has it that in one CPS camp, the night watchman, making his rounds, heard a strident voice ask, "Is this the sick ward of hell?" A bone stuck out of the loess, an awkward protrudance in the gently modulated evenness. In the archaeology of dreams, what whole monster could be reconstructed from that isolated indication?

See him wandering, perhaps, through a gloom lighted with the livid flash of fires. He walks a desert, and Dante-like, sees "over all the great sand, falling slowly . . . dilated flakes of fire, like those of snow in Alps without a wind." He sees figures moving about—the image of Fraud with "the face of a just man, so mild an aspect had it outwardly; and the rest was all a reptile's body." Fraud talks to him. "It's a great world for a young man like you," says Fraud. "With a commission, a young man like you could go places."

But the dreamer smells the burning flesh. "There's no place to go."

"But you've got everything!" Fraud protests. "Brains, ability. All you've got to do is find your niche."

"I don't want to find a niche."

Fraud, who has the face of a just man, is concerned and troubled and sends the dreamer across the burning sands, fire-flaked, to some wise old doctors who live in a shallow pit. The doctors examine him and ask him questions. In croaking voices they chant: "Adjust . . . adjust . . . you must make an adjustment, young man . . . adjust . . . adjust . . ."

"I don't want to adjust."

The doctors, who also have the faces of just men, are also concerned and troubled. They give the dreamer tests, wondrously contrived. They chant again, and raise their querulous voices above the hissing of the fire.

But they see that the dreamer is unmoved. They shake their heads and mutter among themselves. "He's sick. He must be sick, and blind. He can't see the opportunity. He can't see the progress. He's sick. We must be tolerant." They sympathize with the young man in his misfortune. They tell him their diagnosis and sympathize.

The young man, looking into their wise and just faces, comes to believe their word. His truth is not their truth, and they look so wise and just.

He wanders away from the shallow pit, wanders over the sands again, past "many herds of naked souls," past "the dance of miserable hands, now here, now there, shaking off the fresh burning." He looks for progress. He looks for the wisdom of the old doctors. But their truth is not his truth, and their faces are just.

Finally he comes to a quiet dark place. The shrieks of men and the hissing of the fires are distant, echo-like. There is shelter, here, perhaps, shelter for a sick man.

In a loud voice that rings in the darkness, the dreamer asks his question.

Government by Falsehood

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY and ALFRED HASSLER

Few reasonably well-informed Americans would be overcome with astonishment to learn that prominent persons in their government are not above tampering with the truth in order to gain their own ends. Faith in the complete integrity of public figures has long been tinged with a healthy skepticism born of experience and observation, yet even so it is difficult for the average citizen to comprehend the extent of such practices, or to take such factors into consideration in weighing the merits of a given issue.

The prolonged struggle in Congress over the establishment of military conscription in peacetime, either through adoption of a "universal training" measure or by extension of Selective Service beyond its expiration date, provided some startling examples of this kind of chicanery. Particularly in the past few months, when the question has narrowed to the debate on extension of the Selective Service Act, witnesses supporting that move have distorted, suppressed, and manufactured "evidence" with a virtuosity that has left observers stunned.

The pacifist does not like to ascribe motives for the actions of individuals, and in that he is on safe ground. It is reasonable to assume that some—perhaps many—among the protagonists of a militarized America are sincerely convinced of the need for such a revolutionary change in our social and political structure; with equal safety, it may be judged that there are others whose chief concern is with the protection of their own vested interests.

It is not necessary to inquire into motives, however, to come to certain inevitable conclusions regarding the nature of the testimony given. The most charitable explanation possible is that some of those in extremely important positions are thoroughly incompetent; the more obvious interpretation that comes to mind is that they unabashedly falsified their testimony.

No Other Interpretation

That is a harsh charge, yet it is difficult to see any other interpretation of the evidence. If the distortions and misstatements were deliberate, however sincere the convictions of the men making them, they were falsehoods. If they were not deliberate, but mistakes, then they reveal the witnesses as incompetent in the very areas in which they are supposed to be expert. In a democracy, whose basic political assumption is that the citizenry will make right decisions *when given the facts,* neither explanation entitles such men to hold high political or military office.

This is not a matter of conjecture or interpretation. It might have been pure coincidence that a sudden and—by the public—completely unexpected crisis blew up between Russia and the United States just when a balky Congress showed signs of "ending" the war and the draft at the same time, though informed correspondents speculated openly that the "tension" between the two countries had been greatly exaggerated by American officials.[1] It was no coincidence that members of the House of Representatives applauded when one of their number asserted that Army authorities had "not been honest with Congress" in stating the need for men.[2]

The Congressional Record makes it apparent that Army authorities had *not* been honest with Congress. In the fall of 1945 Congress urged that the Army make an attempt to meet its manpower needs by voluntary recruiting. In the hearings on a bill to make voluntary enlistments more desirable, Army witnesses insisted that such recruiting could not hope to account for more than 300,000 of the 650,000 additional men it "needed" by July 1, 1946.

In spite of this the bill passed. The monthly enlistment rate rose quickly to more than double the Army's estimate. In February recruiting was at the rate of 93,000 men per month. Then, in April, Generals Eisenhower and Paul reported to the Senate Military Affairs Committee that March had seen a substantial decline from that rate.

Comparative Statistics

Questioning by Senators, however, brought out the fact that on March 9 the Army had raised from 59 to 69 the passing grade of its general classification test for volunteers. This elicited the following exchange:

> *Senator Revercomb:* And up until a short time ago the passing mark was 59. . . .
>
> *General Eisenhower:* That is correct, sir. . . . It has been raised 10 points. . . .
>
> *Senator Revercomb:* . . . And that was raised while we were in this program of taking in volunteers?
>
> *General Paul:* Also correct.
>
> *Senator Johnson:* . . . The 11 per cent increase in standard resulted in how much rejection during the month of March?
>
> *General Paul:* I haven't those figures; but roughly about 10 per cent.
>
> *The Chairman:* I think, General Eisenhower and General Paul both, that your statistical group ought to make a note in your comparative statistics. Comparative statistics are no good if you change any of the rules in regard to the statistics. . . . If for instance the number is changed something like 10 per cent it is improper to come and say that there has been a falling off. We know that 10 per cent falling off has come about as a result of your own action.

Unabashed by this gentle rebuke, the military announced through Selective Service that in the April quota of 125,000 men it would take many men who had previ-

[1] James Reston, veteran *New York Times* correspondent, commenting on the widely published story of Russian troops moving on Iran, said that the State Department's announcement, on which the story had been based, was "hasty and ill-advised, and gave an impression of imminent war that was not justified by the fact." *Times,* March 20.

Another *Times* correspondent, C. S. Sulzberger, wrote from Berlin on the following day that tension had not increased there and that "certain diplomats believe that this (Iranian) crisis may have been deliberately seized upon by the United States Government to crystallize public opinion and strengthen the American hand. . . . According to these observers, the momentum of pro-Soviet feeling worked up during the war . . . has continued too heavily. . . . For this reason, (they) believe a campaign was worked up to attain a better psychological balance of public opinion to permit the Government to take a 'harder line'."

[2] Rep. Bradley, (Dem.), Penna., quoted in *New York Times,* March 14, 1946.

ously been 4F and deferred as not fit for the Army. Since it did not raise the 59 passing grade for draftees, this resulted in a policy of drafting physically unfit men *while rejecting physically fit volunteers who scored the same grades!*

In spite of this curious interpretation by the Army of its commission from Congress to stimulate voluntary enlistments, recruiting has continued merrily. By April 30, with two months until the July 1 deadline, enlistments were 736,590, or 86,000 above the Army's earlier estimate of its total needs by July 1.

Long before April, however, the Army had shifted its base of argument a year ahead. It was now arguing that its needs by July 1, 1947 could not be met without the draft. Three witnesses reported this fact to Congress.

On March 21, Secretary of War Robert Patterson told the House Military Affairs Committee that the July 1, 1947, shortage would be 170,000 men. On April 3, General Textor told the Senate Military Affairs Committee the Army would be short 221,000 men on the 1947 date! And General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, set the figure at 400,000. The facts support none of these estimates.

The Army has announced its July 1, 1947 requirements, to meet various unspecified "commitments," as 1,070,000 men.[3] By that date, on the basis of the War Department's own figures, the Army will have 848,352 enlisted men and 116,794 volunteer officers. It will have also 88,454 men drafted between January 1 and May 15, 1946, and still in, plus 5,000 WACs and 50,000 Philippine Scouts, for a total of 1,108,600 or 38,600 more than its requirements! And these figures are on the basis of present pay rates; all evidence available indicates that the House-approved 50 per cent pay increase would result in a very substantial increase in enlistments.[4]

General Hershey Explains

In spite of such cheering figures, including the steady flow of voluntary recruits, the Army persisted in taking a gloomy view of the prospects. The CO's old friend, General Hershey, took it on himself to make this mysterious situation clear to the Senate Military Affairs Committee:

> "Inasmuch as the enlistments from civilian life are almost entirely made either from persons who are liable or who are about to become liable for military service under the provisions of the Selective Service Act, I am of the opinion that termination of the Act will seriously affect the recruiting program."[5]

Yet only two weeks earlier Major General Edward F. Witsell, Adjutant General, had announced that 81.2 per cent of the enlistees were veterans, *who are not eligible for the draft.* Only 18.8 per cent have been young men, mostly 17 and 18-year-olds.[6]

Moreover, General Witsell's analysis disclosed that more than half of those volunteering have chosen three-year enlistments in preference to the alternative eighteen-month or one-year "hitches." Since the Army had announced that draftees would be held only 18 months, this would seem a curious way of "escaping" the draft!

Another of General Hershey's statements contrasted strikingly with the evidence in hand. On March 28 the Selective Service Director told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that "the extension of the Selective Service Act is essential to the procurement of an adequate number of men to meet the needs of the . . . naval forces." Yet almost two months earlier, Captain G. R. Donaho, Navy Director of Recruiting and Induction, had asserted that the threatened end of the draft in May would not affect the Navy's manpower in-flow in the slightest degree. "We do not need the draft either now or in the future to recruit for the peacetime Navy," Captain Donaho said. He added his belief that current Navy enlistments were not influenced in the slightest by the threat of the draft.[7]

Not the Only Time

The instances mentioned do not exhaust the supply available. The War Department especially has had a background of statements and testimony characterized by distortions, contradictions, and inaccuracies.

In the campaign in the winter of 1944-45 to draft nurses, the statistics presented by Army proponents of the draft were challenged constantly by experts in the nursing field. The President of the American Nurses' Association testified that volunteer applicants sometimes had to wait as long as seven months for the Army to assign them, and that cadet nurses offering their services for six months had been told that no vacancies existed in Army hospitals. But still the Army struggled grimly for the nurses' draft, though two months after it had lost, its Surgeon General notified the Red Cross that the Army had enough nurses!

In June, 1945, when Congress was restive over the number of 38- and 39-year old men in the Army, the War Department assured it that only 160,000 of such men actually were in the Army. Two months later it admitted that the number actually was 300,000, although no men in this age-group had been drafted in the interim.

A similar disregard for the facts came to light with the Army's announcement, after V-E Day, of its plan to discharge 1,388,000 men under its 85-point system. Not until months later did it admit that there were fewer than 500,000 men in all theatres with that accumulation of points.

Congressional delay in extending the Selective Service Act and in adding "crippling" amendments to it were widely assailed by press and politicians. Yet the reason for its hesitancy is apparent. Congressmen know how undependable the Army figures have been, and they know that, however effective a stranglehold the military now has on the press and radio, there will come a day of reckoning. They do not want then to be caught short, found guilty of governing by falsehood.

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[3] The "commitments" to which the Army refers never have been made clear, beyond occupational requirements in Japan and Germany. The March 22 *United States News* revealed that American military forces still were located in 33 countries besides these two, and on 17 islands in the Pacific. In the course of sharp questioning as to the exact nature of these "requirements," Secretary of War Patterson told the Senate that elimination of the need to guard "surplus property" abroad would "absolutely" make extension of the draft unnecessary. *Time* reported that among the surplus property being guarded on Guam are 500,000 cases of beer.

[4] A Gallup poll published May 11 showed 23 per cent of former servicemen answering "Yes" to the question: "Would you be interested in going back into some branch of the service if the pay were increased 50 per cent?" Dr. Gallup adds that this means "something like 2,300,000 men."

[5] Senate Military Affairs Committee, March 28.

[6] New York *Times*, March 14. 1946.

[7] N. Y. *Times*, February 2, 1946.

Conscription Slows Down

By HERBERT WEHRLY

Illustrations by Betty Jane Edelstein

[*Among the many interesting offspring of Civilian Public Service has been the dramatic and warmly debated "slow-down." Fellowship presents here an account of the how and why of the slowdown, by a man who is in the thick of it in Minersville CPS.*]

FEW OF THOSE who are vehement in their opposition to totalitarianism are aware of the slow processes by which such a system develops, and of how necessary it is to defeat such growth in its early stages. The CPS slowdowner maintains that CPS, especially in peacetime, is a dangerous precedent for forced labor. His conviction is fortified by the fact that it has already been used as an argument to justify conscription in Congress. The slowdowner feels impelled, therefore, to expose forced labor as an early development in a menacing totalitarian pattern and to help defeat it.

The similarities between CPS and the classic pattern of slave labor are marked. The primary objects of forced labor under fascism are the accomplishment of certain work under threat, and the punitive segregation of disapproved groups. Through CPS, our government has achieved certain "work of national importance" under threat of jail for non-performance, and has isolated COs in remote camps where they are bound by punitive rules and regulations. The totalitarian nature of the camps is further reflected in the dictum that COs have no rights—only privileges; and that they are under the dictates of Selective Service twenty-four hours of the day. Thus the basic requirements of slave labor are met by CPS.

But CPS goes even further. The men receive no pay (at most only a very small allowance), and no provisions for dependency or for accident compensation, except that the government will ship the corpse home instead of cremating it as did the Nazis! Moreover, our government has been more successful in carrying on the forced labor system than those abroad, for the peace churches actually have administered most of the camps, spending more than $6,000,000 in maintaining them, and reporting recalcitrants to Selective Service for punishment. Not even the Nazis were successful in accomplishing so much so easily.

Determining Objectives

Having reached these conclusions, the slowdowner sets out to accomplish certain objectives. He wants to demonstrate to other CPS men, camp administrators, the church agencies, the government, and the general public that CPS is an extremely dangerous precedent for a slave-labor pattern in the United States. He must convince his fellow campers that CPS labor is not voluntary, and that they are slaves with no rights, and with no alternatives but prison. He must convince the administrative staffs that they are cooperating in running an evil system that has dire effects, not only upon the slave whom they badger into submission, but also upon themselves as they harden to their tasks. He must also prove to the progressive elements of the country that COs are in the forefront of the common struggle against encroaching totalitarianism. And finally, he must prove to the government that forced labor cannot be relied upon for efficient production.

The slowdowner feels that it is high time pacifists prove that their philosophy is not synonymous with a "do nothing" policy. He feels also that CPS can be a valuable testing ground for the development of effective non-violent techniques which may be of value to pacifist and non-pacifist alike in future struggles. A tried leadership is being developed which can do much to revitalize the pacifist movement.

And certainly not least in importance, is the feeling of the slowdowner that he is doing something *now*, in spite of severe limitations, to oppose the totalitarian trend of the day. By not walking out, he is fighting the system on the spot. Selective Service would prefer that he walk out and be sent to jail, but the slowdowner feels that he can accomplish much by remaining to be a thorn in the side of the system that enslaves him. Of course, there is always danger of arrest, but so far there have been no convictions resulting from the use of slowdown tactics. And in the

The Diggers

The camp needed a new garbage pit, and the supervisor marked off an area ten by twelve feet where, he told the three assignees put on the job, he wanted a hole five feet deep. The end of the first day saw the top two inches of soil removed. Thereafter the crew varied from two to ten men, and no hole in the earth ever developed more unlikely patterns than this one. A miniature golf course was the first innovation, but that gave too little scope to the diggers' imaginations, and soon gave way to cliff dwellings, with elaborate crenelated structures, connecting tunnels, and offering altars. Rest periods were made more comfortable by the sculpting of comfortable seats.

The foreman, resigned at last to the slowdowners' pace and architectural inventiveness, gave up telling the men to dig on the pit and merely instructed them to report to it. The job, which could easily have been finished in two days, took six weeks to complete.

event he is imprisoned, the individual goes down fighting a system he knows to be wrong.

The Slowdowner's Tactics

Although tactics vary considerably, depending upon the individuals and situations involved, and no predetermined pattern can be laid down, still certain factors usually are present. Two predominate:

(1) Everything must be on a non-violent plane, emotionally as well as physically. Keeping the good will of all concerned requires that the slowdowner be a well-integrated and balanced personality, with a keen sense of humor.

(2) All motives and acts must be maintained on a completely open basis. Secrecy breeds suspicion and distrust. The experience of pacifists in Norway and Denmark points up the fact that open resistance is best and most effective. In practice this means that the slowdowner's acts be fully explained at all times.

Strengthening relations with fellow campers necessitates continuous discussion to convince them of the true nature of CPS and the effectiveness of the slowdown in opposing it. The "service philosophy" can be, and has been, changed in many instances. Converts can be won by a gradual approach, for most campers at one time or another are disgruntled and look for methods of action. The slowdown, even in modified form, helps solve their problems, and judicious reasoning can point out the effectiveness of the technique.

The slowdowner's relations with administrators, as with fellow campers, require a respect for their views and personality. It is natural that foremen will resent the slowdown, but personal antagonisms must be prevented at all costs. It should be pointed out continually that the opposition is not aimed against them as individuals, but only as slave masters. Continuous propagandizing may antagonize foremen, and therefore must be avoided. Treating situations humorously and discussing other subjects of mutual interest may be useful devices in lessening tensions. Certainly disagreement in ideas does not preclude personal friendship.

Especially it must be made clear to all that the slowdowner is not lazy—that if he were free, he would work hard. Activity in off-project hours is one way to allay this suspicion. Another is occasionally to work at a normal pace to demonstrate what one would do under other circumstances. Naturally such action should be accompanied by a full explanation. The differing tempos cannot help but make an impression on camp administrators.

Obviously, the most effective point in relation to the government, and especially the technical agencies involved, is the production of little or no work. A myriad of tactics is possible at this point. One of the most effective methods is that of requiring that every minute detail of the job be explained, with additional explanations whenever a new element enters the picture. Operating under only general instructions, the slowdowners may use imagination in creating new and inefficient methods of working, such as piling wood vertically instead of horizontally and making elaborate designs when digging holes. Actually, it is not hard to work continuously and yet accomplish nothing, except in the nervous strain it places upon the performer.

Accompanying this kind of action, there must be continual attempts to educate the public on the purposes of the slowdown. This can be done through letters, camp publications, articles, and leaflets. Especially newsworthy are legal cases which may develop. Unless the general public becomes aware of the dangerous precedent inherent in CPS, there is little chance for its abolition.

A final, vital function is continuous group discussion and self-examination of techniques. Group planning for future activities can prove invaluable. Only through searching criticism can the men involved become more effective, and more adherents be gained.

Accomplishments of the Slowdown

The growing disillusionment and disgust among CPS assignees and the resulting unrest, certainly have been partially due to the efforts of slowdowners. Although not all campers have become converts to the slowdown, many have; and the movement has spread from government to church camps. With the passing of the six-months period

Meticulous

A slowdowner was ordered to wash pots and pans in the kitchen one evening. The work superintendent and camp director were determined that he should complete the task and decided to stand over him. The slowdowner began working, but stopped after feeling the temperature of the water. He demanded hot water according to the sanitation regulations. This necessitated putting wood into the stove to heat the boiler. When the hot water was available the slowdowner started to wash. Instead of slow movements, he decided that the pots and pans should be thoroughly cleaned—that all the accumulations of months of normal use should be removed. He scoured each portion of a pot until it shone like new, which took a lot of energy . . . and time. When the water began to cool, the slowdowner again demanded hot water and the routine was repeated. Meanwhile the light plant blew its fuses due to the extra load of the kitchen lights and to other assignees plugging in hot plates and irons. Finally the staff threw off all the barrack lights and the assignees moved their beds and chairs to the kitchen in order to do their reading and writing. Amidst the general pandemonium, the slowdowner continued his meticulous scrubbing, while the superintendent and camp director stood impatiently by. At last after several hours of effort the job was completed—the staff members being as worn out as the slowdowner. He was never again assigned to the task.

Free Choice

The job that day was to move the contents of a storehouse, and a slowdowner was assigned to the job. The work superintendent was determined that there should be no possibility of mistake, and when the assignee asked for specific instructions, pointed to a stack of doors piled on the floor. The job, he explained, was to take a door from the stack and carry it outside the building.

When he returned later to see how the work was progressing he found that the slowdowner had taken him literally—but the door he had chosen was the bottom one of the pile, which had made it necessary first to remove all those above it and lay them carefully aside.

after the ending of hostilities, many new followers have enlisted as they became convinced that continuance of CPS is peacetime conscription. They have found the slowdown an effective technique of making their opposition felt.

Withdrawal of the Friends, Baptists, Catholics, and other church agencies from continued administration indicates a growing realization on their part of the role of CPS. The activities of slowdowners have been influential in bringing about this change. For the Friends to say in *Information* that they "will no longer stand clumsily in the governmental hierarchy" nor be "responsible for the performance of unpaid labor" is indeed significant.

The response of the administrators has been spotty. Many have listened with interest to discussions on the subject. That some have changed their attitudes about CPS is certain, one going to the extent of resigning, with the comment: "I have found the Selective Service treatment of men in this camp to be the re-establishment of slavery in our nation and the punishment of men whose conscience does not permit their participation in war." Others have been convinced that peacetime conscription is wrong and that the draft should have expired on May 15. Even those administrators whose thinking has not changed, have realized that no work can be accomplished in the face of concerted opposition—that, in fact, their jobs are useless.

Much valuable information has gone out to the public through the *Germfask Newsletter,* newspaper stories, and letters. These have brought an encouraging response from the public, and a no less encouraging uneasiness in Selective Service. Considering the difficulties raised by isolation and lack of funds, slowdowners may be fairly well satisfied with the results of their efforts.

Even more significant is the work record in camps where the slowdown has been widely practiced. Production has fallen remarkably, despite threats. Minersville is an illustration of the ultimate in this development. Here all plans of project work have been abandoned and only camp maintenance performed. But even this has been affected so seriously by the slowdown that an abnormally high number of overhead staff have had to be employed. Thus the government maintains a large administrative staff to keep the camp functioning, ranging as high as one government man for each two and a half assignees. Even the camp co-operators have had their output significantly reduced as they have been affected by the virus. Such results emphasize the difficulties of administering a forced labor system, one which shows precious little return to the technical agency involved.

Weakness of the Slowdown

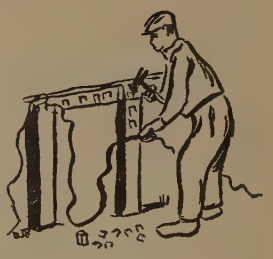
Probably the chief weakness of the slowdown has been the failure to maintain non-violence in the emotional field. It should not be hard to understand that men who are isolated, with little to occupy their time, should have a tendency to lose control of their emotions and tell off the administrators who make life so miserable for them. The motives and actions of the slowdowner are extremely difficult to explain effectively, either to other campers or to the staff. Undeniably, irritations have arisen as a result. And out of this inability to control emotions, there has developed a tendency toward more extreme forms of opposition, forms which may be questioned in the non-violent framework. This poses an important problem for slowdowners to face: what types of tactics are justifiable in attaining the desired goals?

Another serious weakness has been the failure to reach any real understanding with fellow campers not convinced of the evils of CPS. Generally this has taken the form of a camp split, wherein the slowdowner has tended to live only with his own clique. Another weakness has been a failure to make it very clear that the slowdowner is not lazy. He needs to renew his efforts constantly to explain his position to all concerned and to show that he is using this slowdown technique for specific reasons of protest and not from lack of ambition.

The slowdown, too, has had a tendency to engulf the CPS man so completely that he has been unable to maintain any real interest or activity in the other fields so important today to a person of progressive thinking. Any effective pacifist must have broader interests than just opposition to the establishment of slave labor, important as that is.

It should be obvious that these criticisms are not of the slowdown theory itself, but rather of some of its practices. The slowdown has proved to be effective, both in demonstrating the inefficiency of conscript labor and the impossibility of complete isolation from the public. The growing number of adherents, willing to do whatever they can to oppose the system, is an indication that pacifists are awakening to the encroachments of totalitarianism. The low production record in slowdown camps has been a headache both to Selective Service and to the technical agencies administering the camps. That the slowdown has failed at times is only an indication that those participating have much to learn in using the technique. The weaknesses can be remedied if participants emphasize the importance of their efforts; and if through a process of individual and group self-examination, they continually seek to improve their techniques and their discipline.

Literalist



Harvey Saunders, work superintendent at Germfask, illustrated his troubles with a slowdowner with this story, told to a newspaper reporter:

"One day I assigned some men to a fence construction job and gave the men some staples and a hammer to hang wire on the fence posts. After a strip of the wire had been installed, I noticed the wire sagging in several places. Upon investigation I saw that the wire had not been attached to the staples. When I asked the assignee who had been working on that portion of the fence why he had not attached the wire to the staple, he replied, 'You told me only to drive the staple into the post. You didn't tell me to put the wire in the staple.'

"So then I carefully explained that the wire must be put into the staple before the nail is driven into the pole. Later I noticed the man had remained in almost the same position on the fence line so I went over to investigate. I found that he had driven many staples into the single post, all of the staples attached to the wire.

"When I asked him about that, he only shrugged and said that his orders were simply to drive staples with the wire attached, into the post and nothing had been said about driving only a single staple into a single post."

Strikes, Fasts, and Slowdowns Show CO's Post-War Rebellion

Crackling with unrest over continuance of punitive measures against conscientious objectors, the CO front presents a scene highlighted by strikes, slowdowns, fasts, picket lines, walkouts, and new arrests, all accompanied by an increasing voice of sympathetic protest from church and civic leaders, according to reports from all parts of the country.

As *Fellowship* went to press, latest reports reflected mounting opposition not only to the imprisonment of men for the exercise of conscience against war and Selective Service, but also to the holding of COs in prisons and CPS camps, with the war ended more than ten months ago. Strikes, beginning at Glendora, Cal., had spread to Big Flats, N. Y., Gatlinburg, Tenn., Cascade Locks, Ore., and Mesa, Ariz. That men in other camps would adopt the same technique to secure redress from the evils of a post-war conscript system was predicted as inevitable. Simultaneously COs in federal prisons at Sandstone, Danbury, Chillicothe, Lewisburg, Ashland, Milan, and New York fasted, and the Minersville slowdown had reduced that camp to a minimum of activity, reports indicated.

Jail Picketed by Strikers

Six strikers had been arrested at Glendora, and another six at Big Flats. Protests became a community interest at Glendora when congressmen, church bodies, civic leaders, labor, and other liberal groups urged an impartial investigation of Selective Service administration of CPS, protesting "the denial of civil rights to persons opposed to war and war participation, because of profound moral or religious convictions."

The Glendora strike was precipitated late in April by transfer to the government "punishment center" at Minersville of Edward Behre and John Atherton, "without advance warning, trial, or offer of arbitration." On May 17, they were arrested on charges of alleged refusal to report to the Minersville camp. At the same time four additional men, Richard Stenhouse, Marvin Shapiro, Howard Goldstein, and Harold Holden, were also arrested, charged with insubordination and refusal to obey orders of Selective Service by performing project work, according to reports. Bail, set at $5,000, unusually high for CO arrests, was eventually reduced to $500, but only after intervention of the American Civil Liberties Union and over the protest of the District Attorney.

The six men fasted to protest racial discrimination against one of their number almost immediately after arrival at the jail. Other Glendora strikers, reported to be eighty-three, stood firm on several demands: clarification of their status under Selective Service, pay for CPS work, aid to dependents, demobilization comparable to that of the armed forces (Army now 87 per cent, CPS 44 per cent), and retraction of penalty threats for striking. Strikers picketed the jail, joined on the third day by wives and children of the men, by ministers, veterans, and other sympathizers.

Some newspapers showed an inclination to twist facts by the use of such expressions as "guns" carried by officers during the "sabotage" period, and men "escaping" from camp. Other papers made an effort to discount justification of the term "religious" objection, in spite of the facts revealed in CPS records. Of the six Glendora men arrested, camp records show one Methodist, two Jewish (one a staff worker for the American Friends Service Committee before CPS), one Quaker, one non-affiliate of a church but an FOR member, and one Presbyterian.

Campaigners Seek Amnesty

Another demonstration on behalf of imprisoned COs took place on May 11 when more than 120 relatives and friends of men in prison or on parole picketed the White House. Traveling to Washington from many eastern states and as far west as Indiana, the campaigners included children and grandmothers, veterans and COs of both wars, Negroes and whites, persons of varied religions and points of view.

In the absence of the President, Philleo Nash of the secretarial staff received a delegation of five who presented a letter urging presidential amnesty. Mr. Nash assured the delegation that the President would respond and revealed the fact that a report on the question of imprisoned COs was being prepared for Mr. Truman.

"Point System" Expected

The Bureau of Prisons' latest report indicated that it expects the Attorney General to formulate a "point system" for parole of imprisoned COs under Executive Order 8641, paralleling that used in the release of CPS men.

James V. Bennett, Federal Prisons director, reported 2,300 men (300 COs and 2,000 JWs) in prison giving religious or CO grounds for failure to comply with Selective Service. Approximately half of the COs "cannot be released" because they will accept nothing but amnesty, the Prison Bureau said. Of about 650 COs and JWs eligible for parole, 160 would be released shortly; 344 awaited processing; 152 had been denied parole, the Bureau reported, on the ground that they "do not seem to be sincere." Approximately 1,500 "eligible" men were not being released, according to the Bureau, because they are draft age and "it seems futile to release them if immediately upon return home they are again ordered to report for induction."

Lift Ban on Parcels to Germany and Japan

Fellowship readers will be glad to know that it is now possible to send parcels to Germany and Japan. S. 2101 (Trading with the Enemy Act) has been passed by Congress and signed by the President. Postal regulations can be secured at local post offices. The FOR Parcels office in Baltimore has a list of about sixty German friends.

Conditions are more tragic in the large cities and the parts of former German territory now in Poland. From a life-long worker for reconciliation between Germany and Poland, and member of the IFOR Council, who is still living in his former home now in Polish territory, we hear that hunger is everywhere. The writer has seen the terrible sufferings of the Polish people. Now it is the German population in Silesia. Poland is helped by UNRRA but nothing is given to hungry German people there. Milk, butter, sugar, and white bread have been unknown for many years. In Germany there is great need for supplies of insulin.

Parcel senders please note: Reports from some of those receiving parcels give valuable information for persons intending to make further shipments. Glass containers do not ship satisfactorily. The combination of tin containers and paper cartons within the same package is also unwise, unless they are packed so that the paper cartons cannot be punctured by the heavier tin containers. A mixture of rice, tea, oatmeal, and powdered soap is of little value to anyone! And often this is mixed with splinters of glass.

George L. Paine reports that people from all around the country are still writing to him for names. The FOR Food Parcels office has been moved to Baltimore. Address all Parcels correspondence to Mrs. Emily Parker Simon, 328 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md.

Starvation Strikes

Official estimates show that seventeen million people will starve in India this year unless increased food supplies are sent. Failure will cut the daily ration of grain to 800 calories. Some villagers in Madras are now getting only four and one-half ounces. In Essen, Germany, with potatoes unobtainable, the civilian gets 870 calories. In terms of food, this is: a shallow plate of thin porridge, three slices of bread thinly smeared with butter or sometimes jam, and three cups of ersatz coffee. Once a week he might get four ounces of meat and half a herring.

Accents on the Home Scene Reflect Marginal Democracy

Negro veterans are returning from a war fought ostensibly to preserve human rights to a marginal share in such rights that is "most disheartening," according to the National Urban League. The Veterans Administration is making little use of Negroes, the League declares, and the United States Employment Service offers only the traditional "Negro jobs," with few chances to secure in-service job training. Anti-lynching and poll-tax legislation have been defeated, and the FEPC killed by failure of Congress to appropriate money for its work.

Along with other minority groups "notoriously poorly housed," Negro veterans find scant hope in the recently passed Housing Bill which bears little resemblance to the legislation sponsored by the Administration. *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations,* published by the Social Science Institute at Fisk University, calls this defeat of the expanded housing program "scarcely less disastrous to minority people than the FEPC defeat in the Senate." It was accomplished, the *Summary* points out, by powerful lobbies from real estate groups and the building industry, who succeeded in defeating "every feature of the bill . . . in which low and middle-income persons have a particular stake."

Legislation Effective

Brightening the picture are the many local FEPC councils that are functioning throughout the country, and the recently published first annual report of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination (SCAD). Under the Ives-Quinn Law Against Discrimination, a Commission is set up with a three-fold duty: "(1) to receive, investigate, and dispose of complaints of unlawful employment practices; (2) to study and make recommendations with reference to problems of discrimination; and (3) to foster good will and cooperation among elements of the population through education and community effort."

In the eight-months period of the report SCAD has handled 178 complaints, seventy-five of which "involved employment practices which the members of the Commission considered discriminatory." Mass walk-outs by employees, in protest of the employment of minority group members, as predicted by opponents of this kind of legislation, have not taken place, the Commission points out. It nevertheless ". . . is under no delusion that discriminatory employment practices have been eliminated in New York State . . . or that the relatively small number of complaints filed are indicative of the extent of such discrimination." It faces the future recognizing that discrimination can be broken down only by untiring efforts for law enforcement and by promotion of "a program of education directed to the minds and hearts of men that ingrained habits of thought may be changed and an increased spirit of cooperation and good will developed."

Test in Georgia

In the political field Georgia has become a testing ground. Federal Judge Hoyt Davis' decision outlawing the Georgia White Primary was upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. Last month Negroes voted for the first time on a statewide basis in the former "white primaries" of Alabama and Georgia. Former Governor Talmadge, Democratic Chairman Duckworth, and other politicians allegedly sought possbile ways of side-stepping the results of the Court decision. According to the Fisk University *Summary,* Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder suggested that the Democratic candidate for Governor be named through a "white public opinion poll held in each county. . . . The Negroes would, of course, be free to have their own public opinion poll." Mr. Duckworth was alleged to have stated that all legal means of keping the "white primary" had been exhausted.

Simultaneously, Atlanta Negroes campaigned through the church, the school, and the press to secure 25,000 registered Negro voters before the books closed. In one county, Negro leaders filed suit against the tax collector who allegedly made "'differential requirements for prospective Negro and white registrants . . . demanding that Negro voters make a property tax return for seven years back."

Equal Opportunities

A graphic report, *Unfinished Business in American Education,* published in April by the National Education Association and the American Council on Education, is an inventory of the expenditures for public school education. George F. Zook, president of the Council, says the document depicts strikingly a major problem in the educational field—"that which results from shocking disparities in the levels of financial support" in different regions.

The study shows a minimum standard for the United States as a whole of $1,600 per classroom unit (about thirty pupils) per year; a median expenditure for the unsegregated schools of the North and the West of $2,199; for white schools of the dual system states, $1,166; for Negro schools in these states, $477. "For many, America is not a land of opportunity."

Jottings

Howard Ten Brink's many acquaintances will grieve to learn that his wife Ruth died, following the birth of a baby girl. Howard's address is 1715 Modesto Ave., Modesto, Cal.

* * *

Several more persons can be accommodated in the second CORE-sponsored summer interracial action campaign to be held in Chicago, June 17-August 17. The total expense will be reduced since $5.00 a week had been included for rent, and housing is being provided without charge by the Monumental Baptist Church. Send applications to George M. Houser, 1850 East 81 St., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

* * *

Muriel Lester's trip to the Orient, scheduled for spring, has had to be postponed until September due to a minor accident she suffered in her home.

* * *

The third annual Institute of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association will convene at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., for a three-week period beginning July 1. Address applications to Charles S. Johnson, Director, Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tenn.

* * *

An ex-prison CO, entering medical school in September, would like to borrow a microscope and could also use a standard dissection set during the first year. Write to Robert C. Friend, 38 Whitney St., Boston 20, Mass.

* * *

Powell House, New York City, wishes information from people willing to open their homes as vacation boarding homes to new citizens from countries in the war areas, who have sought refuge here.

* * *

Musician, long a member of FOR, desires position as minister of music in a church, or music instructor in a college, seminary, or adult education group in democratic and liberal environment. Experience in church and college. Aptitudes in carpentry, mechanical, and clerical work. Wife experienced in group work with adults and young people. Would consider cooperative or experimental project. Address *Fellowship.*

* * *

Members and friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation wishing to aid the cause by making a bequest for the Fellowship in their wills may desire to look over the form used for this purpose. Full information can be obtained by addressing H. F. Hancox, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

A Quest for Faith

And Another Thing, by Howard Spring. Harpers, 1946. 265 pp. $2.50.

I venture the opinion that few who pick up this book will put it aside easily before having read it through, and that for a great many, reading it will be an exciting and important experience. The author is a distinguished journalist—he was with Churchill when the Atlantic Charter was signed—and an important novelist, *My Son, My Son* being perhaps his best known work of fiction. *And Another Thing* is autobiographical in character, with the style, at once incisive and limpid, which marks the best English essayists. It is at the same time deadly serious and engagingly humorous.

For example, commenting on the destructive weapons being forged by modern scientists, Spring observes that they "themselves are a little perturbed at the consequences of their restless prying, and it is right that they should be. Their defense is that their business is discovery, and that the use humanity makes of the thing discovered is humanity's affair; a defense I find as convincing as a Borgia's defense would be who said he had done nothing but put poison in the cup, and if his guest was fool enough to drink it that was his own lookout." With a delightfully straight face he adds: "Not that science concerns itself wholly with destruction. Its constructive benefits are clear, and should be gratefully acknowledged. For example, it has learned, I read, to turn beans into wool. It now only remains to turn wool into beans for our joy to be complete. Because then we shall have both beans and wool, whereas now we have only wool and beans."

The Search for Religion

The book is an account of the author's religious experience and his quest for a living faith. Those who are interested in the role of religion in modern life or in the psychology of religion will find the book valuable. I am devoting my comment to those sections of the book that are of most immediate interest to pacifists and that present all Christian churches with an inescapable challenge.

These are the sections that deal with war and pacifism. "In no circumstances whatever," says Mr. Spring, "can the warrant of Jesus be found for a Christian's participation in it. . . . I see no logic in an attitude which on the one hand insists that Jesus was not man but 'very God of very God,' whose word was literally the voice of God speaking in the world, and on the other tells us that a follower of this omnipotent and omniscient and all-wise God may with a clear conscience act in flat contradiction to God's teaching on a vital matter."

Furthermore, the author urges, "The Church, all the churches, if they are to save their souls and in the long run save the world, must declare without equivocation that they are on the side of the pacifists. Otherwise, I am convinced, they will perish."

This would mean "dissociation from any State" with which churches might be connected. The immediate result, Mr. Spring surmises, would be that the churches would lose members and would suffer persecution. "It becomes increasingly difficult for an effective 'opposition' to be staged to any State activity in the modern world. For the churches to stage one against the Moloch of our supreme and suicidal devotion would be to court almost certain extinction. But what a death! . . . What could not spring from the ashes of such a phoenix!"

War would not be abolished at once if the Church became pacifist but "in a very long run, it would be a force too great for the Temporal masters of the world to ignore. Long, tedious, and exacting as this process would be, I see no other which offers a chance of ultimate peace on earth. . . . I see no faintest hope for the survival of the Christian churches unless they undertake it."

A "Buffer State"

Mr. Spring raises questions in my mind at two important points. In the first place, while warning repeatedly against any shilly-shallying about Jesus' pacifism and the churches' duty, he holds that for ordinary men, "being what they are, the words of Jesus are of no use to the situation in which we find ourselves." And under existing circumstances the war into which ordinary men are drawn constitutes a sort of temporary "buffer state" behind which "the pacifist is permitted to move toward his eternal objectives." It is difficult to see, on Mr. Spring's own showing in many passages of this book, how modern war and in particular atomic war can be regarded as a buffer and protection for pacifists or anybody else. As a matter of fact, his real conclusion seems to be that under existing conditions our civilization will go to pieces and a new civilization and Church will arise like a phoenix out of the ashes.

Yet elsewhere Mr. Spring makes it clear that if the churches gave themselves courageously to pacifism the effect would be contagious and world-wide. Surely it is on this we must base our hope.

Not Good Enough?

Secondly, the author says he personally is not good enough to be a pacifist. He is consistent and holds that this means he is not a Christian. It is difficult to see how a man of his seriousness and ethical insight can contend that the churches—composed of human beings after all—must accept the pacifist challenge and will be responsible for the collapse, perhaps the utter extinction of civilization, if they fail to do so; but that he has a moral right—or option—not to face the challenge.

For non-pacifists his words will have added weight from the fact that he served in World War I and in the Home Guard in World War II and that the book is dedicated to two of his sons who died in the British forces in the latter war.

Mr. Spring is an honest man. His Epilogue is dated August 15, 1945, and its closing paragraph reads: "There is only one conclusion in this book which later thought would make me wish to alter. On page 49 I say that it is a matter of simple observation that the British and American people are in a higher state of moral development than the Germans. Now that the bomb has been dropped on Hiroshima, I would not defend this opinion with much heat."

A.J.M.

Also Valuable Reading

Inflation Is Coming, by Ralph Borsodi. Bayard Lane, Inc., 1946. 64 pp., large format. $1.00. The well-known economist and prophet of decentralization analyzes current trends and suggests alternatives to the coming chaos.

Self-Determination for Puerto Rico, by Clarence Senior. Post War World Council, April, 1946. 29 pp. $.15. An objective statement of Puerto Rico's grievances, and a study of the alternative proposals from which the U. S. must choose.

A Socialist Looks at the United Nations, by Norman Thomas. Syracuse University Press, 1945. 49 pp. $.25. A good pamphlet to read if you are still under the impression that UN is heading in the general direction of lasting peace.

A Program for Labor and Progressives. A symposium, published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 1946. 48 pp. $.25. A stimulating synthesis of ideas presented by thirty or more important speakers at the annual conference of the L.I.D. in February.

Learn While You Look

How to Live with the Atom. A filmstrip with comment, by Film Publishers, Inc., 1946. $2.50. This is a corking good job of presenting the real issues created by the atomic bomb, done in excellent cartoons on 35 mm. film, with a fine text accompanying it. If you have access to a 35-mm. projector and have a few friends who need convincing, this is a good investment. For youth groups (or adults) it's tops.

We Are All Brothers. A filmstrip with comment, by Public Affairs Committee, 1946. $1.00. Adapted from the famous pamphlet, *The Races of Mankind,* this 35-mm. strip and text do an equally good job. Especially fine for launching discussions.

Pro and Con

From Germany

The following letter was relayed to Fellowship *by the British pacifist movement, to whom it had been sent originally from the Deutsche Friedengesellschaft,* by *the writer, who resides in Aachen.*

Dear Friends:

I am glad indeed that I can write to you. For us Germans it is good to know now that there are people on the other side of the frontiers who think of us without hatred and with the will to understand and to be reconciled—for we believe that we can read that feeling in your pamphlets. Perhaps most people in other countries will smile at our speaking in the Germany of today about pacifism. It looks as though it is only a convenience to be pacifist at a time when the war has just been lost, when, bled white and economically ruined, we face the anxious and uncertain future. Absurd it may seem from the outside—yet, inside Germany, the problem of pacifism has never been so acute as it is today, nor have conditions ever been so favorable for the spread of pacifist ideas as they are now. The ground on which today the seed of pacifism is being sown is drenched with our life's blood. Shall not the seed there bring forth fruit which our children and our children's children will one day gather gratefully to harvest?

It is we women (and not only we German women) who have made the greatest sacrifices in this war. Our husbands, fathers, brothers have never left the battlefield, and those who did return have paid the price with illness or stand in despair among the ruins of their broken lives. How many children now no longer have a father and must live with the needs of the soul as well as of the body unsatisfied, while the anguish of the shells and bombs of the inhuman war still stirs in their small hearts. We mothers have learnt in these days to think about such things, and we have become keen of hearing. We wish for no more war; we want the peace we owe to our children!

Very many of us feel that after this terrible ordeal there must be a conversion, and that the principle of life which preaches hatred and revenge and the lust for power means the self-destruction of mankind. Consciously or unconsciously we have realized that the positive forces in this world are those of love; and somehow we feel also that this knowledge drives us not to repay blood with blood and hate with hate, but to build again in a living charity to our neighbors, and to make the principles of reconciliation and good will the foundation stones of our lives.

People will say perhaps that it is a waste of time to conquer the thoughts of revenge and resentment in Germany, because Germany will not be able to make a war for many years. But for us Germans pacifism is something greater now than a "No More War" movement. It is for us the key to tolerance, to humankind, to the real love for one's neighbor. Our young men have been educated in intolerance; they have been taught in their schools that everything beyond the German borders is inferior to all within them, whether it be art or science or social conditions. We hope that, through a pacifist movement in Germany, the youth of our country will link up with the youth of the world, that it will learn to assess and to recognize the achievements of others, and will come once again to believe that there are values in life far more important than frontiers and peoples and races.

So shall we bit by bit grow up in Germany also towards a real democracy, whose driving power will be not militarism but tolerance and personal responsibility and positive reconstruction.

There are women and men of all ages who want to work here in Germany for the pacifist ideals. We would be glad and grateful to have your help and encouragement; you have had so much more experience than we. We have not even got the writing materials for our work.

We, as well as you, hope that by our united effort we shall succeed in making the mind of peace so powerful in the world that the last war shall be the last of all. May God, Who called for peace on earth and good will toward men, help us in our work.

MAGDA KOELMANN.

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Work Strikers Reply

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The article in the April *Fellowship* entitled, "These Are the Work Strikers," did a good job of presenting half of the picture. Unfortunately the article scarcely mentions the fact that many men have refused to cooperate on the basis of larger issues than mere prison problems. In fact, it goes on to say that ". . . these men are the exception." This is certainly not true in Sandstone. To our entire group of thirteen non-cooperators, prison problems are secondary and the benefits of non-cooperation are strictly by-products. Our main argument is with the war-conscription system.

I can't properly express the position of each person in the group, but in general it is somewhat as follows: We feel that our imprisonment is very wrong and unjust. It is a denial of the most sacred of all human rights—freedom of conscience, freedom to follow the way of life one thinks more true. It puts the nationalistic state in the place of God. Furthermore, inasmuch as it incarcerates Selective Service violators it is an integral part of the war system. It is a weapon used by the state to coerce its citizens into unwilling cooperation with this form of stupid, inhuman slaughter and destruction.

Our devotion to the ideals of peace and freedom prompts us to refuse to lend our cooperation to the institution which enforces this grave injustice; though, for personal reasons, most of us do cooperate to varying degrees, not choosing to draw the line as fine as did Corbett Bishop. We eat our food, exercise, keep our bodies and cells clean, etc.; but one thing we all refuse to do, and that is to perform slave labor in support of the institution which wrongfully imprisons us.

It seems to us that many Fellowship members who have had little personal experience with the war-conscription system have turned a cold shoulder toward men who have left CPS to go to prison and especially toward the men who have refused to cooperate while in prison. We welcome constructive criticism and offer this explanation in the hope that greater understanding may be brought about.

CHARLES V. WORLEY.

Task of Pacifism

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is strange that so many who distrust military bureaucracy do not see the kinship with social-welfare bureaucracy. Some may remember the pre-Pearl Harbor warnings of Charles Beard—with the famous quotation typifying all bankrupt governments which "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels." And of John T. Flynn, also documented from history, showing that the Keynes theory of welfare spending is an ancient beaten track to bankruptcy and war. Flynn, however, as his present connections show, lacks a positive alternative, and discussion is futile without something better to discuss than monopoly capitalism. So, for a hint, see the bi-weekly "Interpreter" edited by Mildred Jensen Loomis and Ralph Borsodi (Brookville, Ohio).

It is my conviction that the major task of pacifism is not emotional demonstrations and martyrdom but thoughtful re-examination of the collectivist dogmas which tie the movement to one side of the world's contending forces, and rob it of reconciling power. Law is a pedagogue, said Paul, but "we are called to be free." Ends determine means, as well as vice versa. What is our goal? More law or more freedom?

JOHN C. WEAVER.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I find myself in agreement with the letter appearing in the April *Fellowship* which pointed out the need of inspiring a large group of persons to become pacifist. It is a major undertaking and one to which we should all devote all of our energies.

PAUL COMLY FRENCH.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkerely 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Carl Landes, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; *Middle Atlantic:* James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *Rural:* Leslie Simon, Peterboro, N. Y.

What Is Your P. W. Q.*?

(*Peaceful world quotient)

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We Are All Brothers. A 35mm. film strip and complete script based on the famous "Races of Mankind." Complete, $1.00.

"AND ANOTHER THING"

Howard Spring's unclassifiable new book, of which Sterling North says: "In an era shattered with fear and hatred a book like this one is rare." (Review in this issue.) $2.50.

Fellowshiply Speaking—

When the new feature "Subheads" was still only a gleam in ye editor's eye, that individual took to laying aside clippings, letters, and odd items that might be included in it, labelling them succinctly "Sub." A harassed sec'y., struggling already with "C" for "current," "P" for "permanent," and assorted other symbols, passed back a plaintive note inquiring what "Sub" might mean and listing some twenty possibilities that had occurred to her. The list began with "subcutaneous" and ended with "subtimes I'm happy."

Subtimes we <u>are</u> happy, and it really is <u>sub</u>-times, when pleased readers persuade friends to send in new subs ("subscriptions" to you intellectuals!) for FELLOWSHIP.

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P. S.—Next month's issue will have some special stuff on the atom: a play you'll want to put on in church and other groups—"Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse," by Dr. Ridenour; a lively, cartoon-illustrated feature, "How to Live with the Atom," prepared with the cooperation of the atomic scientists; and a listing of material on this explosive—and how!—subject. Also "How It Feels to Be Starved"—the dramatic story of the Minnesota experiment—and other top-notch features. It's a twice-as-big Summer Number.

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